

Part of a Lecture  
The Parent versus the State

Stephen 51.

I am much honoured by being asked to address the members of an Association where mandate I have to be, organise, educate, differentiate & where working idea is, in T.D. Maurice's phrase, 'the family is the unit of the nation'. The older one gets, the more one sees how beautiful & excellent is the natural, some <sup>more</sup> ~~less~~ <sup>more</sup> think the divine, organisation of the family; & it would seem that nations prosper or fall into decay according to how they hold the family bond. We know very well how states decay when licentious living <sup>among</sup> ~~depraved~~ on the part of the governing Classes makes light of family life; but the point that claims our attention just now is whether a State arrogates to itself the functions of parents, from utilitarian

With bread or potatoes of the meal

<sup>2</sup> From ~~from~~ philanthropic motives, it is transgressing the first law by which nations live. The life of the State is bound up within that of the individuals but in that of the families which it is composed.

The most obvious functions of parents are to feed, clothe, shelter & educate their children. Birds & beasts bring up their families; the rearing season offers a continually repeated & delightful parable to men.

The ~~common~~ <sup>family</sup> table, be it never so poor, is the centre of amenities which will not be had elsewhere. The herring, or the morsel of bacon, shared by way of a 'nib' rather than eaten as food, offers something over & above the chemical elements proper to them. The mother gives away most of her share,

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little Bill's baby greediness is laughed at, naming  
the small jokes go round & manners & moral  
of a child are observed. The best cooked &  
served dinner that can be given to children  
at their school is a poor, dry, cold meal  
by comparison. So of clothes; we others  
may not approve of the 'ferry' that <sup>Miss Anna</sup> murver  
she somehow come by for her little girls but  
but that 'ferry' means dignity, self-respect,  
mother's love, twenty precious things warmth &  
comforting that the neatest school uniform  
cannot afford.

If we want to know all about it, let us turn  
over the pages of Punch for a year. Phil May,  
at any rate, knew that the children of the very poor  
are poorers full of friendship, love, & joy, of  
joy in the beautiful & tenderness for the weak.  
Can the State give scope <sup>here</sup> for all this? <sup>not</sup>

The State has no big bath for the little  
mother girl to struggle <sup>over</sup> ~~over~~ <sup>over her</sup> to little 'luncker  
youth scarcely bigger boy - a person of  
slightly though in ~~of~~ rags. Perhaps we know  
most by what we endure than by what we  
get, & the small urchin who sells  
newspapers in the rain brings home more than  
the pennies he earns.

But this, it will be said, is to assume that the very poor are also very food. No, but perhaps they are like the rest of us, food <sup>is no better</sup> evil; their food becomes very food because they are poor. I venture to say that few of us know more than a very small percentage of quite worthless <sup>people</sup> persons among the very poor of our acquaintance; & I know <sup>of</sup> no <sup>one</sup> before <sup>of</sup> <sup>any</sup> to suppose that because the poor are congenitally

Stephens

our great cities, they are therefore unworthy to bring up their families, scions of arrogance. Better a dinner of herbs when low is ~~that~~ a shelter or at the table of the State. We are all democrat in these days. We are wallowing to lay down our lines, in ~~some~~ measure, for the friend of ours, the poor man but we do it from ~~the~~ <sup>high</sup> heights we are the persons who know!

But, it will be asked, how does all this apply to the giving or selling of one or two good meals a day to the children. The children get the meals but they miss what I boldly call the amenities of the home-table. A little estrangement is set up, the children are definitely taught to be self-seeking <sup>rewards</sup> greedy, to put home in the second place & their own comfort in the first.

In a week or two it will be found that the family bond will be relaxed, there will be no longer the great confidence between parent & child which is one of the compensations of the poor & very soon the children will evade the tiresome little duties which they owe both parents who feed them and scarcely to those who make over the care of them to the state. But a deeper question lies at the root of this, of the family life & state aid. Whatever be our party or our creed, we stand on one side or the other of a broad line of demarcation. We say with our lips & belief in our hearts that man either does, or that he does not, live by bread alone. If we think that he does not live by bread only, that his morale is more than his physique, we shall be very wrong as to how we take him from the educative conditions of family life.

If bread be scarce & butter scarcer, then are still friendliness, affection, helpfulness, service, & the wise philosophy of the poor. Still 'life is sweet, brother', still 'There's night & day, brother, both sweet things', even ~~moon~~ <sup>moon</sup> 'brother, all & sweet things'. "Here's likewise a wind on the health, life is very sweet, brother." That is what there is liberty. In other words, if one man, is provided for more or less by the State, the consciousness of his liberty is gone. We should not have no longer that fine sense of dignity, property & possession in each other which characterise the very poor & the very rich, for both are independent.

If we leave things like these out of count, if we maintain that man doth live by bread alone, why then the state will arrogate to itself the duty of bringing up a fitter generation & will fail miserably. It will feed the children ~~against~~ them bread only. ~~It~~ It will educate them with that utilitarian education which seems you believe to

be profoundly immoral. It will give them, by way of religion, such dry bones of ethical education as ~~such~~ <sup>will</sup> ~~should~~ <sup>the</sup> meant to make them serviceable to itself, will deprive them of all that should give impulse to enthusiasm to life.

Take it that an underlying tenet of the Association is that man doth not live by bread alone ~~in temptation~~, as it violates the full bearing of this article of belief, ~~that~~, <sup>that</sup> ~~it~~ will less effectiveness in preserving the family & building up the nation.

But it will be said this is a one-sided view, the difficulty comes in when men & women cannot, or will not, take care of their children or of their aged parents. But the rest majority of persons & children are persons of good will & honest purpose. That they are ready to sustain their children is proved by the fact that the inquiries instituted a few months ago by the R.C.C. issued in a ~~return~~ <sup>of the poor districts</sup> the verdict of Dr. New that the children of London were not underfed, but merely fed under bad conditions.

~~Castroland~~  
~~newspaper~~  
~~magazine~~

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The cry of lack of bread reaches all our hearts & it is idle to suggest that to feed the hungry is not the first duty of state & individual but in our eager pity it is well to remember that no worse calamity can befall a State than a lowered sense of parental duty & also that there are things more satisfying than bread. Visiting a ~~Y~~ Club for Jewish girls sometime ago, I was greatly struck by the gentle & courteous manners of the girls. Said the lady who directs the club, "but these must be all well-to-do girls, you do not reach the very poor". "Most of the girls", she answered, "are very, very poor; many of them will sit down to their first meal today whence have tea. I expected to be able to distinguish the hungry girls by greediness, but all of them behaved with equal propriety. None of them snatched or stole stuffed, or behaved otherwise than men do all well-brought up people at table. These girls seemed the social idea more sustaining than bread & I think there is danger in the idea that persons must be well fed before we can expect them to be well-

~~the fact generally~~

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If this be so the remedy lies in the education of parents rather than in the intervention of the state. The children who can properly be regarded as children of the state <sup>ie. ~~those~~</sup> whose parents are criminals by profession, who are insane or who are under the periodic insanity of habitual ~~do~~ drunkenness. There children are proper under the care of the state which should do what it can to <sup>up</sup> graft into its harder methods something of the culture & nurture that the children of the very poor derive from family life. Probably one function of the Constitutional Association will be the delimitation of the powers of the State to supersede parents in the care of their children.

The life story of Will Crooks, M.P. is what we call a 'human document' of no common value, but perhaps the lessons to be had between the lines are more precious than those <sup>Mr. Crooks himself</sup> ~~more eminent~~ subject of the biography emphasises. Here is a picture of mother of the poorest, so poor that she & her husband & children could

behind or interested in anything but their own immediate needs. We know how a national joy, or a national grief, can fill all hearts to the entire forgetfulness of personal needs. I venture to press this point because, though it is ~~one~~ first duty to feed the hungry, we may not postpone the duty of nourishing the mind with ideas until the body is well fed. The two works are of equal importance & should proceed together.

not keep out of the workhouse, though they took care to get out of it as soon as they could.

"God only knows, God only will know, how my mother worked & wept," says Crooks. "With all she brought up seven <sup>9/11</sup> girls to be decent respectable men & women. She was everything to us. I owe her what little schooling I got, for, though she could neither read nor write herself, she would often remark that that should never be said of any of her children.... I can picture her now as I used to see her when I awoke in the night making out oil-skin coats by candle-light in our single room. Trembled, though I was! meant it from the very bottom of my heart when I used to whisper to myself, as I peeped at her from the little box-~~bed~~ bedstead by the wall, 'Wait till I'm a man! <sup>Won't</sup> won't I work for my mother when I'm a man!'"

Of course we all wish that Bill Crooks' had been better fed, that changes had been rung upon the broad stretch of all those big meals.

John Keay

But would it have been well, for him that been  
fed more or less at the public expense? <sup>from</sup> That been  
without the heroic impulse he got watching his  
mother's patient toil? - an impulse which in after  
days was to do such fine service to the country.

The severe hardships of his youth, scarcely seemed to  
have affected him physically but should we have had  
the mere jibe, the <sup>to</sup> Gran + independent carriage which  
we admire in the Labour Member, had it not been that  
through all their struggles, the crippled father, the  
toiling mother the seven children preserved a sense of

~~family dignity~~

<sup>Opp. page</sup> an association carried with a sense of the inviolability  
of the family must <sup>with no doubt</sup> ~~rescue~~ be organised in order to propagate its  
~~socialist~~ doctrine. The means are obvious. Should not  
every village every urban district have its constitutional  
club so framed as to draw members from all classes +  
to include none. The socialists have shown the way to  
Club rooms, the schools should be obtained for the purpose,

The photograph of the Croxley family  
contained in the Life would not speak  
bad things to us. The wife is a  
Christianity of a lesser  
degree - respects to self helps

when ~~not~~ neither school nor barn is available, an iron room might be put up for £100 or so - a sum which an attractive programme would secure in most neighbourhoods. Having got the people, the ~~members~~ of the Association would probably be to educate them. ~~so~~ I think, I come to see why I have been honoured by an invitation to speak to you today.

(P) The common notion of education is, ~~is~~ that it is a long & wearisome process with ~~often~~ <sup>little to show in the end</sup> enough little apparent result. The educated person should have increased in living, many & varied interests, occupations, hobbies. We don't always find that he has these. A <sup>poor</sup> artisan gentleman, he waits to be amused when definite education is ~~long~~ not forced upon him, it seems safe to infer that the <sup>poor</sup> master's idea of education is not satisfactory.

however of the Parent Union, for which I stand, believe that education is, like the Kingdom of Heaven, a state not a process. For what is the ideal result of education? That result which we fail to get with all the labours of our schools? Not not easily for

insatiable

worthy knowledge ran ~~substantially~~ appetite  
farther. The tedious process we go through,  
occupying a quarter of a long life is supposed  
to result in this ~~supplied~~ <sup>appetency</sup> appetite for knowledge  
giddes. But does it? we do not seem to  
produce multitudes of reading people capable  
of think clear, feel deep, been built well,  
of clear thought. Our grand find is that there  
is no need to produce these aptitudes by means  
of education. They are then already, present in  
child & man, in young & old. We are all  
born with a desire for knowledge as keen & as  
insistent as the appetite for food. Knowledge  
~~is~~ in touch with begels ideas.

Realising that we give people what they want  
we skip all manner of elements & abstract  
& plunge at once into mediary <sup>knowledge</sup> ~~mediums~~.  
We educate by means of immediate  
contact with the best minds. Through this

best books. It will be objected that  
 this class we are particularly concerned  
 with have no vocabulary, but that is a  
 mistake. Working men express themselves in  
 jargonese because they pick up the vocabulary  
 of their newspaper; now, the best writers use  
 the plainest, most direct, English <sup>that we</sup> ~~that~~ they can  
 the fittest for educational purposes. But  
 there would be if in each of the Constitutional  
 Clubs, we may ~~associate~~ <sup>entertain</sup> ourselves by conceiving,  
<sup>and</sup> we quite a number of deal tables with  
 benches round them, each table occupied  
 by a group of men or women (or of men and  
 women) reading, & discussing incidentally some book  
 they have chosen as, for example, Plutarch's  
Julius Caesar & Shakespeare's play, or Macbeth;  
Dr. Jekyll or Woman in White or  
Kidder's Social Evolution, or Professor

Philip Steps of Life or Archdeacon Wilson's  
Science & the Faith or Adam Sedgwick or  
Nicholas Nickleby or Wallace's Russia,

or and suppose when any table has finished  
its book, the whole club <sup>and</sup> give half-an-hour  
blistering ~~or~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~humorous~~ comment by some  
two or three of the readers or to an attempt  
back a scene from ~~that~~ <sup>any</sup> a play that has  
been read or from a Wartley Novel. ~~which~~  
~~fit a new & fresh to the party & reader. Some~~  
~~we shall have second Part Kings~~  
~~as to the Club that is now in the~~  
These things would be second, the <sup>use</sup> ~~use~~ of  
an intellectual stimulus, definite thought,  
& the <sup>use</sup> ~~use~~ of expression. ~~by words~~ <sup>second</sup>  
But it <sup>may</sup> be objected all this is  
extremely rapid & does not further the <sup>use</sup> ~~use~~  
object of the Association.

If we take it that education is a state, we may begin anywhere & can get into full

11/21/1945

It has been well said that it is by reading the thoughts of others we learn to think.

11/22/1945

Living in a week. Of course there are disciplinary studies which must be pursued by regular methods but these don't belong to our purpose. The reading of a single living book puts a man into the educated state. He becomes able to detect fallacies, see both sides of a question <sup>smile</sup> & laugh at vulgar superstitions. In the reading of a single first-rate book, he emerges from the darkness of ignorance into the light of knowledge. Perhaps it would be well to put General culture in the foreground & the immediate object of the Association in the second place. The Club should have newspapers, of course, representing both parties political parties, with now & then public debates; <sup>and</sup> occasional lectures, with discussions, on the rights & duties of a citizen, on the training up of children, on domestic & on social economy. The pamphlets of the Association

would be read & discussed. But the aim of the Society would rather be, I imagine, to give men the opportunity to form sane, wise & deliberate opinions & principles of right action & what is not important, of right thinking.

If such a plunge into the humanistic cult has suggested the good for poor men & women, it is also good for their children who are starved miserably during their school life on 'readers' & oral lessons. It is possible to make the poor man's child a person of reading & reflection by the time he is seven, by the time he is twelve, he should have had a thought a good deal. But it is new to take to men because education is a state which you may enter at any ~~point~~ post - by any route. Men must have knowledge if they are to be fully alive. It remains true that the poorer knowledge in mankind is man & that the best arrives with

knowledge at through history, literature &  
art. We should hear the field too ourselves,  
if we were alone in the discovery that men crave  
for ideas ~~can~~ always ready further. The  
atheist, the anarchist, the extreme  
fascist are before us. They too know that men  
are gregarious, apt for notions, & their success  
is due to the fact that, after listening to their  
specious arguments, a man's mind <sup>ries</sup> sets up  
for the first time, perhaps, with the proud  
~~assumption~~  
conviction ('I have thought'). Men must think  
their thoughts grow out of the material they  
set hold of. The great opportunity of such an  
Association as this is what within a man's  
rich material of the best to give him opportunity  
for discussion & expression. See Direct

instruction may come in also, as han-  
dicated, but it should take the second place.

The main point is that man should use his mind

as a tool working upon food material. ~~which he  
will explore with his mind a personal output - but he must  
derive strengthen my position by quoting some  
hard material of reflected & ready to quote in employ of which  
wonderful words of Benjamin Kidd's.~~

Be made clear & affirmative &  
not the negative mind - upon a  
positive & well regulated program.  
It is this the seems to be a  
but & always slightly ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~  
~~program~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~  
proper mind to be developed  
& disseminate between both + specie-  
s men. A self-taught nation will  
put a man with a brain & a body  
his hands, quite a student mind /  
such a body of knowledge as will be  
brought to bear upon the world.



1427 men 51

Then by going N. for and over a  
marshy ~~area~~ <sup>marshy</sup> to the L. of the marsh  
As directly N. road to L. of marsh  
is a dirt road, but deep, very fast water  
Rushes clear, but deep, very fast water

Orosky

Roman Turnold <sup>1878</sup> *lippincott*

Democracy  
through "the sum of its members"

For these reasons the Platonic idea of a life-long education should, I think, be embraced, methodised & organised, by an association which aims at upholding the principles of personal liberty - personal responsibility.

2

State children, i.e., "the children who for one reason or another are without parental control"

I am much honored by the remark  
of Adolfo's Conf. This may, it seems  
to me, have very important issues.  
Argued is the last demand of  
the D.A.R. - & it is only through a  
competent organization that, some  
& solid body of public opinion can  
be formed.

As if opinion to the point, educated  
~~and~~ <sup>1st</sup> 2nd demand, is I think  
evident by the fact that I am asked  
to speak; for like the man in the  
fable, there is nothing like Cestus or  
Philipp's city, I say, education is  
the ~~best~~ <sup>for</sup> the Constitution even so  
you will say, there are many more  
enormous educationalists undoubtedly  
but perhaps, in the name of the  
P. U. I may have something to offer  
after all. We have found that the  
education is, like the beginning of history